584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's
[836] family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse
[583] with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[842] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the
[178] groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately $17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly

844 [853] kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 593 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 851 156 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby always laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

[152]

852 565 462 [178] Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe [286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 565 538 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach. Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 178 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

[Kochinda-son]

The days between report of the marriage and the first birth ranged from one day prior to 275 days prior. The range is tabulated below: 582

Table XI

Days Prior	Cases
1- 7	8
8- 20	9
21- 30	8
31- 60	13
61- 90	8
91-120	8
121-150	10
151-180	3
181-210	4
211-240	3
241-275	3
Total	77

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown in Table XII:

Table XII

Type Family	Number of Marraiges	Percentage
Lineal	32	42
Lateral	6	8
Mixed	18	23
Nuclear	21	27
Total	77	100

Marriages Reported after First Birth Marriages reported on or after the birth of the first baby say a greater proportion of younger husbands. Fifteen of the 71 were younger than their wives. In four cases the husband had had a divorce and remarried. In another case the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. The first birth was a boy in 45 cases, and a girl in 24 of the remaining 26 cases. In two instances the information as to sex of the child was faulty. This imbalance leads one to believe that in many cases when a girl child is born, the father refuses to acknowledge paternity by registering the marriage. The child must then be registered as an illegitimate or common law child. [851]

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 28, or 40%, of the cases; while marriages to women who came from outside the village accounted for 43, or 60%, of the cases. This shift in relative percentages from the second category to the third suggests that marriages to women within one's own village have a slight tendency to be reported earlier, or before the first baby is born. On the other hand, unions with girls from outside one's own village tend to be reported later, or after the first baby arrives.

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582 For the 114 in-village marriages the average age of the wife at date marriage was recorded was 21.2 years. For the husbands in this category the average was 23.5 years. Both these averages are consistently lower than the averages for out-village marriages---it apparently takes longer to search farther afield. In addition, one often hears the country belief that the more education a man has, the farther away he goes for a wife.

The 150 out-village marriages recorded include 117 women living in Kochinda-son, and 33 women who have married to men outside the 'son'. Of these 33 women, those who married men from relatively far away numbered nineteen, and those who married men living in villages relatively close to their parents' village were fourteen in number. One of the first group married an American serviceman from Kansas. One of the outside-the-'son'-marriages involved a woman fifty years of age who was marrying for the second time. For the remaining 32 marriages---all of which were first marriages---the average age of the woman involved was 22.5 years.

Of the 117 out-village women who married within Kochinda-son, twenty-seven came from rather far away, forty from non-contiguous 'aza' relatively close, and fifty from neighboring, or areally contiguous, 'aza'. The average age of the 117 husbands was 25.0 years. This figure is reduced to 24.9 years if the men over 40 are eliminated. The average age of the wives[1] was 22.1 years, an average reduceable to 21.9 years if women over forty are eliminated.

587 Second Marriages In the normal course of events a certain number of people will marry for the second time. The Navy Civil Affairs Handbook indicates that "...about twice as many men as women remarry after being widowed or legally separated." A considerable number of the postwar marriages analyzed under the spacing of births category above were second marriages. It is of course not possible to ascertain the percentage of these, inasmuch as they are not listed as such in the temporary 'koseki'.

[614] Lebra was told that in a first marriage men tended to wed women from within the munchu (extended patrilineage) rather than from outside the munchu, and that in a second marriage they tended to marry outside the munchu.

588 "Common Law Children": Definitions In addition to legally recorded marriages, there are those unions producing children who have no legal claim as heirs to their fathers' property. If the father recognizes the child as his own, it is given his family name, and entered into the 'koseki' as a 'shoshidan', if a boy, and a 'shoshijo', if a girl. In this report these will be called "common law children", though the reader must realize that 'shoshi' is not the exact equivalent of the phrase "common law" as it is used in the United States.

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848

1 Only the ages of 116 wives could enter this calculation; no birthdate was available for one wife, though the other data for the marriage were complete.

[Kochinda-son]

If the child's father refused to admit paternity or is unknown, the child is registered as a 'shiseiji', or "privately born child", in the 'koseki' of the mother. In this report 'shiseiji' will be referred to as "illegitimates". There are rare cases where a young man may claim the illegitimate child, but will not permit its mother's name to be registered. 588 848 851

Numbers In Kochinda-son there were registered in the 'koseki' 57 common law children. Of these, 26 were born prior to 1 January 1946; that is, 46% of the total were conceived prior to the invasion of 1 April 1945. It is more likely than not that many prewar cases of illegitimacy were not registered in the temporary postwar 'koseki' from which this information was taken. The remaining 31, comprising 54% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946.

The 57 were divided by sex as follows: female---31, male--22, not accurately recorded--4. Even if the indeterminate ones are all male, it means that there is a preponderance of females. This low sex ratio may help to balance the extremely high sex ratio noted above for first birth children of parents who reported the marriage after the birth of their first child. For comparative purposes, the data are repeated below:

Table XVII

	First Born Child a Boy	First Born Child a Girl
Marriages Recorded Before First Birth	51	55
Marriages Recorded After First Birth	45	24
Total	96	79

Birth Years One prewar common law child does not have a birthdate recorded, although internal evidence in the 'koseki' indicates that he was born sometime in the period between 1939 and 1941 inclusive. The years of birth of the remaining 56 common law children, of all ages, is shown below: 848 851

Table XVIII

Year Born	Number of Children
1954[1]	3
1953	4
1952	4
1951	4
1950	6
1949	3
1948	3

[1] This is for the first three months of 1954 only.

[Kochinda-son]

Table XVIII, cont'd.

848
• 851

Year Born	Number of Children
1947	1
1946	3
1945	2
1944	5
1941	3
1940	2
1939	1
1938	1
1937	3
1934	1
1933	1
1932	1
1929	2
1928	2
1916	1
Total:	56

Fathers There were 53 fathers responsible for the 57 offspring. In two cases one man fathered three common law children. In half the cases, the age of the father at the date of the child's birth is not known. The ages of the other 25 fathers ranges from 15 years eleven months to 60 years ten months. The age period 20-30 inclusive contains 19 fathers of common law children. It may be assumed that the 50% of fathers whose age data at the birth of their common law children are missing would tend to follow much the same distribution. The birth orders of the prewar and postwar fathers in the 20-30 year age group are shown in Table XIX, with comments on each case.

Table XIX

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born Before the Invasion	Comments on the Fathers of Common Law Children
First Son	Has only one common law child. Has eight children by his legal wife.
Second Son	The common law child was his first. He has had five legal children since.
Second Son	He is household head. The common law child is his first daughter. His first wife was either sterile or was killed in the war and her children married off or killed. He is eighteen years older than his second wife, by whom he has had one daughter and three sons since marriage.

[Koohinda-son]

(Birth Orders...)	(Comments...)
Second Son	He was born in 1887, and was a 'yōshi'. The common law child was born in 1915, has fathered three daughters and two sons, and is uncle to an illegitimate child. 848 851
Third Son	He had an illegitimate child, and admitted paternity eight years later, thus making it a common law child so that it could go to school without stigma. His legal wife had borne him two sons.

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born After the Invasion	Comments....
First Son	He is unmarried, and lives with two teen-age younger brothers.
First Son	Unmarried first son of a father in first case of this tabulation.
First Son	He is married, but his legal wife has had no children yet.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his mother and his common law child.
First Son	He is unmarried, lives with his parents, a younger brother and the brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with his mother and his common law child, a son.
Second Son	Lives with his elder brother and family, where he cares for his common law daughter.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with father, elder brother and brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, lives with his father and younger brother.
Third Son	He married two years after the birth of his common law child, but his wife is not the child's mother. He lives with his mother, who is legal household head.

[Kochinda-son]

848 (Birth Orders...) (Comments...)

851 Fourth Son — He has had a son and daughter by his legal wife, and three children by his "secret wife." He had the third common law child after the age of thirty.

Fifth Son — He is unmarried and lives with his parents. His elder sister has had an illegitimate child.

163 848 851 Mothers The ages of the mothers at birth of the common law child were available in only thirty, or 53%, of the 57 cases. One half of the first births occurred to mothers aged 17 to 24 years inclusive. The range of mothers' ages at first common law births was from seventeen years ten months to forty years one month.

848 851 Registration Thirty births were registered in the 'koseki' of the fathers, and twenty-two in the mothers' 'koseki'. One common law child had become a 'yōshi', and it could not be determined where he had been registered. Four were adults whose 'koseki' registration at time of birth was unascertainable.

848 Illegitimate Children In the Kochinda-son 'koseki' at time of copying, 112 persons were registered as having been born "illegitimate", or 'shiseiji'. Twenty-eight of these, or 25%, were born prior to 1 January 1946. That is, these were conceived before the invasion. The remaining 84, constituting 75% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946. As of 31 December 1953 there were 106 living registered illegitimates.[1]

Mothers Because there were nine cases of women who had two illegitimate children, a total of 103 mothers were involved. Of those nine mothers bearing double illegitimates, six were widows. In two of the nine cases the children were fourth and fifth order births. In two cases they were third and fourth order births---one of the latter were twins. In three cases the children were first and second order births, and were first and third order in another instance. There was one case in which the mother had probably had legal children who were war dead. The birth orders of the mothers are as follows:

Table XX

Birth Order of Mothers	Number of Mothers
First Daughter	38
Second Daughter	23
Third Daughter	10
Fourth Daughter	6
Fifth Daughter	1
Birth Order Unknown	24
Total:	103

[1] Two had become common law children, one became a legal child, two had died, and one was not born until January 1954.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed. 754 [756]

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment. 753 784

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and misfortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship (from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors. 753 769 775 [152] [756] [787]

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, although this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an illegitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, serve to demonstrate paternity. 753 782 [848] [851]

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relationship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent", 769 783